1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii.

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names.

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond.

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 attached to dance areas, I am uncertain. I have never been told of the use of them and have seen no record of their being found in sacred places. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in the Marquesas drums were confined to the feast places and were used only in connection with the rites practiced there.

Coral which is very commonly found in the platforms of the temples is known to have been used ceremonially in connection with the *tona pou* rite (see Sacred Chants), and it seems likely that it was used also as a part of the tribal rites as it was in Hawaii and Tahiti.

Stewart (26, pp. 251-252) mentions other small ceremonial objects:

> Sometimes, a human skull is placed in a curiously wrought urn adorned with flowers, and elevated in a similar manner. A cocoa-nut leaf, also, woven so as to represent a human victim, and fastened to a long pole, is borne along on the shoulders of two men; a principal priest then speaks aloud, as if asking a question, and all the rest answer in a shout. The vociferative part of this ceremony is also practiced when on the water in their canoes. Frequent use in these ceremonies is made of a piece of wood, with another fastened across the top of it; and also of a small canoe, decorated with human hair. At times, too, a *hami* or girdle, or other article is held up, and the name of a god invoked in a loud and bold manner; and when a surgical operation is about to be performed, the rude instrument of tooth or bone is elevated, in a similar way, towards the imaginary power, as if expressive of dependence for success on the skill that may be supernaturally imparted.

826 Skulls were among the most important of the sacred paraphernalia associated with places of worship. The skulls of chiefs or priests were the tokens of the presence of their spirits. Garcia (14, p. 58) observed in a *me'ae* four skulls in one corner embellished with some sort of decoration. The taking of a dead chief's skull to the temple after the treatment of his body had been completed is described in the section on Death. Skulls were used in connection with the fishing rites (see Fishing); they were lashed on war canoes (see Canoes); and were used in other ways in ceremonial.

Images

778 532 The images (*tiki*) at temples represented deified tribal ancestors—chiefs and inspirational or ceremonial priests who had been famous in their time and whose spirits had become the tutelary deities of the tribe. These images were carved usually out of a tree trunk but sometimes of stone. In either case, they were carved in the typical Marquesan conventions (see fig. 22, *a*). Figures were for the most part of moderate size, though some were very large. Conventionalized human faces were also sometimes carved on the blocks which formed decorative elements in the walls of temple platforms. (See fig. 13). The image, or images usually stood at the rear of the sacred precincts on the uphill side or on the high-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu* place.

Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred. Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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241 larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a 133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains 648 and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards [823 the S., to say that in that direction there were men like 826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on 600 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed.]

/11 cont./ take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks. 844 [178]

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This preparation is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a large number of astringents for a variety of purposes. 846 757 [824] [824]

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the husband and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are positively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom, still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the 1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not completely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again, as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or so after birth. 846 757 178 [833] [842]

The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste (ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it. This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [826] [757]

/17 cont./ 856 757

role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications administered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications --decrease [832] in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness-- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186 believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757 are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856 superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826 contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757 sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856 limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly 836
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, [839]
as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [492]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/32 cont./ 826 ●

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

832 757 [856] [824]

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instructions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's generation, but much is also learned from more sexually advanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

864 [602] [603] [883] [591] [875] [871]

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruction of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

864 838

Although very much at ease with each other in states of undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about appearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite common and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

291 883 [833] [526] [515]

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826●
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua 'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa 'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/51cont./

826 831 [192]

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

831 834 [609]

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

[571] [291] [532] [826] [609]

838 883

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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/73 cont./

192
831

Aboriginal Obscenities

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 515 white ethnic groups. [538]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements.

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past.

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman.

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 515
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 193
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [797]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./
observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/94 cont./
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."